1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

lected. Before her marriage, Paulette Donnelly is reported to have told her father: "I want to be like boy. I want to rustle, make little money." She didn't want children, feeling they were too much trouble, and inquired for contraceptive information. The spontaneous exclamation of Paulette, "I'm just as good as man!" when she one day killed a porcupine with an ax, is further evidence of the same trend. Another of Old Man's daughters was on her deathbed when she said to her father: "Don't try to save me. I'm no good to you. I can't break trail, I can't hunt, I'm only a girl."[33] In conversation women often speak rather boastfully of their exploits when hunting big game. Several women were reported to have attempted to induce sterility by magical means.[34]

To sum up the pertinent data reflecting the status of women, it can be said that the society enables the feminine sex to develop a considerable degree of independence and that such freedom is welcomed. The behavior of masculine striving is additional evidence of the woman's search for sexual equality. On the other hand, men's attitudes toward women and the marital relationship give women little opportunity to express independence, and force them to take a subsidiary role which *is* somewhat inferior to that patterned for men.

Old Age[35]

The Kaska define old age primarily by its biological correlates. Physically, as Old Man pointed out, "When people get old they get stiff and cramp everywhere. When they turn around, everything sore." General weakness and debility affect the body. Eyesight and hearing become impaired. As a man ages his hunting ability is one of the first things to decline. Stamina is drained off, "just like electricity." Louis Maza observed that when he was young he would go anywhere for moose. He kept on the move all the time, traveling all hours of the night. But now, at the age of thirty-seven, he is beginning to feel incapable of such exertion. The day after having indulged in too strenuous activity he wakes feeling unrefreshed and unrested. "You open your eye, feel you get up. No. Go back to sleep again. Old do that." Old age is also stated to be a time when very early experiences of an individual often vividly return to memory—"just like reading book."

Ideally old age is regarded as a period of wisdom derived from abundant experience. Old people are sometimes thought to possess strong supernatural power which has enabled them to hold on to life. Such idealization of age, however, is no obstacle to characterizing a clumsy or inept performance by assessing the actor as "like old man." In carrying old clothes, blankets, and other objects from the cabin which was to be occupied by the ethnographer, several girls began to chant: "Metša blanket," "Metša coat," and so on, for each hoary article which they brought out. The reference was to a partially senile old woman of

[33] Masculine striving was rewarded in aboriginal Kaska society at the expense of a woman's sexual satisfaction. A young girl, protected against conception by magical means, was brought up in the clothing and role of a boy, being trained to do a man's work. Her hunting ability was regarded as tied up with virginity, and she was expected to defend herself strongly against seduction. Slightly different patterns for assertive women to adopt men's roles (without, however, denying themselves sexual satisfaction) have been reported from Plains and other American Indian tribes. For a review of the literature see Seward, *Sex and the Social Order* (1946), 119-121.

[34] For details of such techniques see below, pp. 231-232.

[35] The collection of data for this section was considerably influenced by reference in the field to Simmons' *A Prospectus for Field-Research in the Position and Treatment of the Aged in Primitive and Other Societies* (1945).

854 774 the water to be crossed was only a foot wide. It was believed the baby's spirit was afraid of water and would not cross with the body excepting this was done. Even if the spirit was in the baby and not following it when the water was reached it might through fear leave the baby when the water was crossed. Care was exercised thus with children until they were strong enough to walk or at least to sit up. After they had passed the most helpless stage of infancy, there was less danger, as the soul by this time had become used to the body and was more satisfied to dwell in it. The body and soul had become more adapted to each other and had commenced to function as one being, or at least be in unity.

789 854 If a child cried much at times or was, as it were, naturally a cry-baby, the mother made a little image in human form of grass with legs, arms, head, etc., and placed it next the baby's breast or heart for about four days. The first day hereafter when the father went hunting he tied a string to this image and trailed it behind him as he went along. When he had gone some distance into the woods he concealed the image by covering it entirely with dry leaves. If this did not entirely succeed in changing the baby's disposition the same thing was repeated again, and the baby then ceased all excessive crying.

all. From time to time as required this was renewed during the whole period of isolation. It is said this was done to make the skin of the face white in after years. For about three days, she wore a string tied around the back three fingers of each hand so the joints of her fingers would not grow big. A white or light complexion and small hands with inconspicuous joints were considered beautiful and therefore desirable. Faces of girls are not painted black nowadays but gum is still used. At the same time that the face was first blackened the girl's hair was done up. It was divided into two locks or bunches which were brought together and crossed tightly at the back of the head or near the neck, each end being tied firmly to the main part of the opposite lock.

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The hair was not combed for a long time, often several months, and with some not until the period of training and isolation was over. The girl must not touch her hair or head with her finger tips or scratch it with her nails. She must use her scratcher for this purpose. When she handled firewood or put wood on the fire she must use mitts. This was so the skin of her hands and especially that of her finger tips would not be rough in after years. Other ceremonies girls performed were as follows. The girl rubbed her body with small, very smooth water worn stones, preferably those

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283 in warm weather but for a week during winter. Summer babiche broke easily in comparison to the winter variety. Cold weather drying also rendered the line softer and more flexible. Stretching frames for drying babiche were not generally used, although for hasty drying such line might be wrapped around a snowshoe. From fully tanned and
[462] smoked hide came smoked-skin line, of whose manufacture little need be said. Men collected the roots for spruce-root cordage but all subsequent stages of manufacture were carried out by women who scraped the roots with a stone knife and then boiled them for about half an hour. The worker then split each root, smaller ones being split only once but very thick roots four times. Occasionally spruce roots were braided. This line kept best when loosely hung up and tended to spoil if wound tightly. When spruce roots became hard and dry, they could be softened with grease but urine was never used for this purpose. Whole willow line, made in emergencies to pack meat, consisted of a long willow branch softened by heating over fire and then twisted until the fibers had been well broken. Willow bark line found a host of uses and yielded material for fish nets. Willow roots, collected by men, were softened through an hour's boiling, split, and then used for cordage. To manufacture grass line women gathered the high sedge growing along lake shores. Bundled into sheaves for transportation back to camp, the material had to be fabricated quickly before it dried. Twisting converted the grass into line that remained useful for only a short period of time. When confronted with the information that the Tahltan had woven goat's wool into blankets our informant (O) opined that the Kaska must have done the same thing.[5] Among the knots commonly applied to the
284 foregoing types of cordage are the running noose, bowline, and overhand. Two ends of babiche were spliced by means of a sheet bend.

412 *Dease River Kaska.* Stone tools constituted the basic equipment in the Dease River
324 area. A flintlike stone as well as obsidian provided materials for blades which were then
281 hafted in handles of horn or spruce and birch wood. Sinew or babiche line secured the hafting. To protect blades men or women manufactured scabbards from smoked caribou hide. The container attached under the outer belt of a person's garments. Although a woman had her own knife its form did not differ from the man's and the objects were
[789] designated by a common term. Before beginning to chip stone a man might swing a bullroarer while repeating the song, "thunatis, thunatis." The charm caused his magical power to aid him in the work.

323 Concerning work in clay, we found it impossible to check the testimony of one informant (S) that vessels used to be shaped from this substance and hardened by firing.

321 The caribou or goat's horn adze served as a basic tool for woodworking and stone
401 axes were denied. Men split logs with wooden wedges and used spruce barking tools to assist them in peeling spruce bark.

321 Bone constituted an important material for knife blades, the material being "scraped"
412 to an edge and hafted in a horn or wooden handle. Women used skin fleshers derived from the leg bone of the caribou as well as obsidian scrapers for removing the hair of a hide. Sewing needles of fish bone are said to have been of recent introduction, supplanting bone awls. Unprocessed moose horn provided an ice chisel as well as material for

[5] Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1912), 485.

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Coast Range. Even in 1945 mild hostility characterised Tahltan-Kaska relations and young men of the former group boasted of their ancestors successfully fighting the Kaska. Other informants corroborated the fact of war between the two groups. Nobody recalled trouble with the Bear Lake Sekani. The upper Liard River people regarded the Etca'otena of the Fort Nelson River as stupid and almost inhuman but fighting with them could not be recalled.[39]

Large-scale aggression did not occur frequently and there existed no value on fighting for its own sake. War was defensive in theory, a means of subduing bad or potentially dangerous people. Woman felt dismay when preparations for hostility began and some sought, with only rare success, to keep their men from battle. Both sexes equally welcomed the resumption of peace. Typically a war party originated in a situation like the following: A man, visiting the camp of a stranger, saw a scalp which he suspected belonged to one of his relatives. The traveler returned to his own country and discovered who was missing. If several people had not been heard of for a long time the original surmise became fact. Driven by anger, the man began hostilities by killing a woman who had originally belonged to the enemy group. In front of his companions he displayed a knife, blade uppermost, and moved it in a semicircle as a gesture of hostility. "I'm still hungry," he would say. Then those people prepared to attack the enemy. The desire to steal women took its place alongside revenge as an auxiliary motive for aggression. The wish for prestige played little part in promoting aboriginal warfare.

A war leader was not identical with the band's headman. Sometimes the expedition also included a shaman who worked sorcery against the enemy. While the war chief acted as "boss" of the war party he had no power to inflict corporal punishment. At most he could order a disobedient member to quit the group. Several microcosmic groups probably provided recruits for a military expedition, so that the leader assumed the proportions of a true political authority. The expedition itself contained two divisions, young men about 19 or 20 years old, who packed the goods, and warriors, averaging about 30 years of age, who did the actual fighting. Women never directly participated in aggressive warfare but they sometimes visited the enemy camp to act as spies. Such an envoy might return to tearfully beg that the intended victims be spared.

Preparatory to fighting men made new knives, lances, fitted with stone or caribou horn blades, and many arrows. Each warrior provided himself with two bows in the event that one should break. In addition the men donned bear skin armor in the form of a sleeveless coat that reached to the knees. This was made from hides tanned with the hair on and worn with the hair out. Magical significance is probable, since among the Indians the bear enjoyed a reputation for his fierceness. Over his head the warrior carried, fur exposed, a caribou-skin helmet lined with birch bark. Sometimes headgear included a visor covering the whole face and provided with holes for vision.[40] Helmets

[39] For counter attitudes among the Slave, see Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 73-75.

[40] Tlingit armor consisted of long tunics made with two or three thicknesses of hide or hide reinforced with wooden slats. Twined-reed jackets were used by the Chilkat and helmets of solid wood with visors held in the teeth. Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 330; Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 181.

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714 furnished disguise because they prevented the enemy from recognizing the attackers. Painting the whole face with a mixture of charcoal, spruce gum, and grease served the same [redacted].[84] After the fighting this paint was removed with the aid of grease. Birch-wood shields, designed to deflect arrows, consisted of two or three pieces of wood, each about three feet long and sewn together. Grease layered the forward surface of the shield. In warding off an arrow by this device the warrior spoke a one-word charm, "uk ("swan").
[841] Menstruation on the part of a man's wife did not prevent him from joining a fighting
[834] party but following his departure this woman was bound to avoid crossing the warrior's
[702] trail lest danger befall him. Prior to setting out a man abstained from coitus for four days. "If you stay with your wife you will be killed, you weaken yourself."[85] Winter or summer each member of a war expedition toughened himself by plunging into cold water.

722 After the men had departed the women left in camp constructed a number of human
789 images, using robes and skins stuffed with brush. Human features were added with red paint. The dummies stood in the camp and each morning women attacked them with ceremonial wooden knives. The ritual gave additional strength to the warriors.[86] Women
837 also girdled themselves in fancy outer belts which dared not be removed until the party had returned. Untying the knot promised death to the fighters. This belt undoubtedly symbolizes the chastity of the women during the husbands' absence.[87] At the same time the rite no doubt allayed the jealous temperament of the men and allowed them to focus on the business at hand without distraction. It may well be that such belts possessed indirect survival value.

726 The warriors traveled quickly. In advance went two or three scouts, intelligent men about 40 years old. At night young men remained posted around the camp, acting as sentries. The expedition camped in brush-banked lean-tos enclosed on three sides and sharing a common rear wall. Usually two lines of such shelters faced each other and a fire burned in the space between. Moccasins dared never be removed while sleeping lest the wearer imperil his life. No effort was made to conceal the light of campfires. Fre-
726 quently during the course of travel the shaman performed rites designed to prevent
789 bow strings from snapping or to break the enemy's snowshoes when the latter sought to escape. At night the fighting party sang songs magically designed to weaken the enemy.

726 All military action took place on land. The Kaska did not fight from canoes, although the informant had heard that the Tlingit fought from boats. Fighting started as soon as

[84] The same means of disguise accompanied war among the Kutchin. Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin* (1936), 87.

[85] Tlingit men expecting to join a war party "were not allowed to see or go to any woman. This taboo depended on the length of time they expected to be gone. 'Sometimes they did not see a woman for a year.'" Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 449.

[86] Tlingit warriors constructed such dummies before leaving camp. "All the men and their wives had such images." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 449.

[87] "While the warriors were away the leader's wife had to have strouds tied about her blanket just as did her husband on the expedition. . . ." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 450.

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776 mice which they secured with small bows and arrows in the tall grass, sometimes befriended men. They also enjoyed a reputation for their fun making. Information about
[177] Fire Man (Kendiklutz or Kotc) came to the Kaska from the Taku Indians, who called him Tciskii"e. An evil being, he spoke in the fire's cracking and to him the people then threw small bits of meat. The devil sent cold and controlled other evil beings like Tenatco. Long ago Tiyutsiia, a cannibal, prowled the earth for unsuspecting victims whom he clubbed to death and then prepared like game for eating. The track of this being struck great terror when encountered but he perished long ago in the flood. Water beings were unknown. Thunder originated from a great "fly" (bird? insect?) with a large mouth.[18]

776 *Tsalona.* No idea of a Supreme Being obtained in aboriginal times. Something called a devil (Liiap) entered into the aboriginal belief system but details could not be recalled.

SHAMANISM

756 *Upper Liard Kaska.* An informant told us that a shaman was always a fat person because he constantly dreamed that he was eating. Such a characterization may be derived from one or two renowned shamans about whom the informant had knowledge. Every young man received the opportunity to acquire power that would enhance his personal capacities. Hence every man was a potential shaman (meta or nudita; the latter word appears to designate the curing status of the person). Women too could be visited by extraordinary dreams through which they, like men, acquired shamanistic
[789] power. By working harder at shamanism some men and a few women acquired a wide reputation as curers, prophets, and conjurers.

The power to perform shamanistic functions came from "dreaming of animals in a
756 lonely place" (O). A young person would spend time in the bush. At night he might
787 hear rye singing like a human being or he might hear a moose or bear singing. "You go in bush. Pretty soon get dark. You hear somebody sing. Bye and bye get light. Fellow goes and just moose there when you wake up. Bye and bye get dark and that man come back" (X). When a boy reached about 14 or 15 years in age his father directed him to sleep in the forest. Before leaving camp the youth would sometimes suck his mother's breast "just like a little baby." Generally the aspirant traveled about ten miles from his parents' camp, stopping at a place where he saw porcupine tracks. Arriving at such a site the boy painted his chest with a pigment made from rotten wood. Always he camped alone, accompanying his one or two days of isolation with sparse eating and little drinking.[19] It was forbidden to take a bow and arrows along on a vision quest. Every night

[18] Thunder birds have been reported for the Takhtan (see footnote 8) and Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455; Jones, *Study of the Tlingit of Alaska* (1914), 186.

[19] Among the Tlingit would be shamans "spent long periods in the forest in absolute solitude, supposedly in communication with evil spirits. They also had periods of fasting and their diet differed in many respects from that of others." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingit of Alaska* (1914), 159-161.) Drucker is more explicit in listing the following tests for the Tlingit power quest: shaman's power from animal spirits; bathing and "medicines" used preparatory to survey's vision quest; fasting and continuous exposed during the quest, bathing and fasting after first encounter as well as a four-day period of singing

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756 to practice, however, he might represent his power source by donning the skin of a
787 moose, bear, sheep, or other animal.[illegible] "New" clothing belonged to shamanistic performances. When not in use these garments remained in a bag that a man kept outside of the dwelling. How they were then kept dry cannot be answered.[illegible] Drums played no role in curing but some men employed clappers made of two or three pieces of wood that were probably held between the fingers. Practitioners at work carefully avoided exposing their mouths to women and concealed their features beneath a piece of skin (in post-contact time underneath a handkerchief). The association between the breath and shamanistic efficacy no doubt determined in part such attention to the mouth. Payment for curing constituted a voluntary gift that varied depending on the shaman's degree of success or on the economic status of the patient. A mere token gift rewarded a curing rite that failed. Large payments were exceptional. Should a shaman fail twice to effect a cure then a more powerful practitioner would be asked to exercise his power.

Shamans assisted war parties, using their power to weaken the enemy. Probably the commonest function of a shaman was divination or clairvoyance.[illegible] With or without the aid of external oracles[illegible] the shaman "dreamed" the location of game, the number of days that would elapse before a patient recovered, or somebody's imminent death. One man predicted the arrival of many white men in the Camiar and announced that the visitors would find "all the Indians dead." "That's what happened," the informant added. Judging from folk tales, a shaman also protected his people from monsters and
758 cannibalistic giants whom he usually contrived to kill.[illegible] Finally, some shamans en-
789 hanced their prestige by public wonder working or conjuring. The feats such men are said to have performed include walking on the surface of water "so that everybody

[illegible] Tlingit shamans symbolized their powers on masks or in articles of apparel. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), [illegible].

[illegible] Jones reports that Tlingit shamans began their work "in perfect nudity" wearing "a girdle composed of bones, claw-nails and talons . . . about their loins, then a necklace of such about their necks, and last of all they were given curtain especially made for their use." Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), [illegible].

[illegible] Clairvoyance by shamans occurred along the length of the Northwest Coast with a special class of clairvoyants appearing among the Haida. (Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* [illegible]) Among the Tlingit "besides curing the sick a shaman had many other functions, such, for instance, as the location of supplies of food and assistance against enemies in war." (Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [illegible]) As a diviner the Tlingit shaman "was often consulted as to weather, the proper time to start on a hunt, whether a certain venture would meet with success or failure and about other things." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [illegible]) Among the Polly River people "the medicine man has the power of a kind of second sight either in dreams, or when he or she whoever the doctor is starts singing, they will be able to foretell the future also cure the sick, and so forth, which gives them considerable influence with the tribe." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 5.

[illegible] See below, p. [illegible].

[illegible] "They have tales of monstrous animals such as the mammoth and spiders as large as a full-sized grizzly bear and bug worms that are supposed to be alive today and nobody can save them from these animals but their dreams" (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [illegible]) Among the Athapaskan (Dwanpa) Cons it was not unusual for the shaman to strike into the bush to kill a cannibalistic witches. Honigmann, *Athapaskan Ona fold notes* [illegible].

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Tselona

could see it" and sleight of hand. Then a performer caused a decorated foot-long staff to disappear. Two shamans might compete in public conjuring, the object of each being to prove himself the more powerful. The loser in such a contest might die.*

Dease River Kaska. Both men and women became shamans among the people in the Dease River valley. A girl sometimes acquired her power (*natsei*, "strength") while undergoing menstrual seclusion. Generally in summer when a boy reached 16 he was directed to go a short distance into the bush to dream. Here he remained for about a month, living in an open camp made by clearing a patch of willows. Occasionally more adequate shelters housed the vision searcher. The youth painted his face in either red or black. While a woman was forbidden to visit the aspirant, the latter was freely visited by his father who brought food. Generally, however, a youth seeking a dream consumed little food and drank water sparingly. According to one informant a boy used the drinking tube during his seclusion but not the scratching stick, which was associated with a girl's puberty sequestration.* Sometimes three or four boys passed their vision quest together. Power came from dreaming of a "strong" animal, mythological being, sun, or moon. Girls often dreamed about otters. Power dreams were never revealed. Boys whose experiences seemed particularly efficacious—for example, if they received communications from animals like the bear or mountain goat—might become successful curers. No formal instruction in shamanism followed the dream quest—"a man taught himself." While almost every man enjoyed some power, each microcosmic group customarily recognized one individual who stood out by virtue of such ability. Indirect revelation of a power source occurred when a shaman wore in his hair the feathers of a bird patron or, if his helper was a bear, carried a bear-skin headband or necklace of that animal's claws. Indians desiring to be cured either visited the practitioner or summoned him. Cures customarily performed with rattles. Payment consisted of skins, snowshoes, or articles of wearing apparel. Sometimes a successful man received his patient's daughter as a wife, but only with the girl's explicit consent. Age enhanced a man's supernatural powers while longevity in turn proved that a man enjoyed particularly strong helpers. Such men acquired widespread reputations. Conjuring, mainly by sleight-of-hand, constituted a less part of the shaman complex and served to spread a man's ability far afield. Shamans also engaged in competitive performances.

Tselona. An informant clearly described the source of shamanistic ability. "All kinds of game, they help," he said. "Moose, beaver, lynx, marten, otter, sheep, goat, caribou—all make people doctor. When they want to hunt they catch anything. Somebody get sick, make all right the people. The water too make somebody doctor. Water he talk, he

* Widespread in the northern Athapaskan area, public conjuring is also reported for the Tlingit. "... shamans of hostile towns were in the habit of dressing up to fight each other by means of their spirits. Sometimes they performed for no other reason than to show their power." (Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908], 460.) Sleight-of-hand among the Tlingit is mentioned by Drucker (Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* [1943], 226.) From an upper Liard River informant we heard that Dene River shamans made objects disappear and also caused passengers to walk "straight into camp."

* In this connection see also the statement of another informant in reference to puberty rites for boys, p. 120 below.

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Tsolona
Upper Liard

756 *know*. Poplar, willow, any kind stick [i.e., tree] make doctor." Thunder, too, could confer power and gave a man the ability to control weather. A man's power helped him to attain old age but when he died his acquired ability "died" with him.

756 The vision quest among the Tsolona involved the aspirant's seclusion in the forest,
787 where he saw animals or other sponsors who sang to him. As a rule only a boy undertook searching for a vision but occasionally a girl also slept in the bush and secured shamanistic power. Only when engaged in curing did the shaman wear a distinctive garb, for example carrying a fur scarf around his neck. The skin represented his power source. Neither drum nor rattle played a part in curing. According to our informant only Cree shamans drummed. Conjuring could not be recalled but the informant had heard of a similar practice among other Indian groups.

MAGIC

789 The term magic is used in this section to include not only behavior but also a manner of thinking or state of mind. The major characteristic of magic is that it holds material things or behavioral events "to be the unfailing residence of certain intrinsic qualities."[illegible] Magic as a term thus includes ideas as well as manifest avoidances and other rites, like amulet wearing, removing illness by sucking, and various forms of divination. Not all of the magical observances in Kaska culture have been incorporated in this section. A number have been introduced previously (for example in connection with warfare) while others will be included with the life cycle.

789 *Upper Liard Kaska.* In pre-contact times the Indians of the Cassiar recognized
784 several species of animals as magically dangerous. Holding first place in this category
825 we find the otter, a creature that in this region occupies the focal point of ideology which among other Mackenzie drainage people is reserved for the wolf.[illegible] Like the mink, the otter could drive persons insane, subject them to fainting, nosebleed, and produce more serious illness such as "twisting up." Both animals were avoided as food. A mink inadvertently caught in a deadfall had its carcass thrown into the fire and covered with feathers. This "put them [i.e., mink] in good mind." To take a live mink from a trap was particularly dangerous. An otter taken in a beaver deadfall was returned to the stream or lake with instructions to one's children not to drink water near the place. Dreaming of the otter made people fearful and such dreams were regarded as originating with the animal itself. Otters possessed power to transform themselves into human beings.[illegible] Attitudes of profound respect and avoidance were not lacking for the wolf. A hunter who wounded this animal always let it go free with the expectation that the creature would again present itself to the hunter. Should it then be killed, a depletion of game would follow within two or three years.[illegible] Thus the cyclic fluctuation of game animals appears

[illegible] Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 93.

[illegible] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 78.

[illegible] "... the land otter was dreaded more than any other creature. This was on account of his supposed supernatural power, freedom for crossing people away, depriving them of their senses, and turning them into otter men. ... Youth ago the Tlingit would not use them for fur." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 436.

[illegible] "... the wolf was also supposed to possess great power." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 435.

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to have been recognized by the Indians, who regarded such variation as magically induced. The killing of wolves and crows was also avoided in deference to the members of the moieties named after those animals.

Contemporary informants still categorize the mink, otter, and wolf as "devil's helpers." Also allied with Gusliina are the snake, toad,[34] elephant (nu?uti), shark, wolverine, flying squirrel, and grizzly bear.[35] Some of the items in this list were undoubtedly known only by hear-say, if they were known at all in aboriginal times. Of the wolverine it was said that he stole on behalf of the devil.[36] The flying squirrel sought to remove people from this world but to kill the animal promised illness and its meat was never eaten. The grizzly occupied himself with trying to kill men for the devil and manifested extraordinary sensitivity to ridicule. When slighted he might harbor resentment for several years until finally taking his revenge by killing the person who had laughed at him.[37] Magical power of another quality was ascribed to the beaver, moose, and caribou. Beaver bones had always to be discarded in the fire, while the bones of the other two species were thrown far away from camp in an effort to attract fresh game to the locale. People burned the hair scraped from a moose hide. If a woman stepped on this material her husband would become powerless to kill moose, while if a dog ate moose meat then the owner would never again be able to track the moose successfully. To club wounded caribou caused illness. It was very foolish to make pets of large game animals. Raising a young moose, beaver, or bear in captivity would promote the deaths of many people. The children of the captor would die off as the species of animal multiplied, the deaths of one balancing increase of the other.

Young men took water, grease, and bone marrow in measured quantities both in order to preserve their health and to enhance their hunting ability. Too much water interfered with digestion and hence undermined a man's capacity for sustained effort. Grease was "too heavy" for a youth. Leg tendons also remained taboo for young men; to eat them invited the danger of leg cramps at a time when unhampered movement was essential. The hind quarters of an animal were best avoided in favor of the forward portions that contained "strength." Boys ate lightly and not until a man's marriage had produced four or five children should he begin to eat as much as he cared to of whatever he liked. Such avoidances did not apply to girls, because women were not hunters and their work was not as exhausting as men's.

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The relationship entered into between a man and his animal sponsor did not result in a complete avoidance of that animal for food in those cases where the species was

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[34] "The slime exuding from a frog's skin was thought to be very poisonous and fatal to smaller creatures." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 428.

[35] Old World folklore also accounts for the evil dispositions of certain animals by classifying them as creatures of the devil. Thompson, *Folktale* (1946), 236.

[36] "The wolverine . . . was also held in great respect." Christianized Tlingit regarded him "next to the devil for badness." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 430.

[37] Special respect for the grizzly has been reported for the Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455.

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commonly exploited. Some parts of the meat would be avoided. Often the animal helper itself prescribed the avoidance to be followed. Thus a moose might tell the dreamer, "Eat only my ribs," "Don't eat my head," or "Don't eat my guts."

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Cohabitation promised to be magically dangerous under some circumstances and therefore had to be avoided.[28] For example a man held off from coitus in the night before he started on a hunt. Following his return the hunter remained continent for about six days.[29] Miscellaneous avoidances included the taboo on making snowshoes before snow lay on the ground and a reluctance to deposit parts of the human body on or in the earth. Apparently because of the disgust associated with rotten things like teeth, the umbilicus, the afterbirth, and perhaps the corpse were rather cached or burned than buried. Whistling met with special precautions, but use of the willow whistle does not seem to have been affected.

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By far the largest amount of magical ritual concerned itself with hunting and the cure of illness. Not only could a shaman through divination learn the location of game but he could then perform rites to guarantee the successful killing of food. Singing the songs which had been learned from one's animal sponsors secured hunting luck; a "moose doctor" for example sang his "moose song." Men with inadequate power frequently asked a stronger shaman to perform rites in their behalf. Seated alongside the practitioner the hunter might accompany the shaman by singing. On other occasions a man with strong power etched the image of an animal on a small piece of caribou bone. The hunter took this amulet on his journey and returned it when it had served its purpose. Other amulets, like a piece of weasel or loon skin worn in the hat, assured all-around good luck. Any man might be fortunate in finding substances that assured successful hunting. Such "medicines" (perhaps earths?) were shaped like pills and carried on the hunter's person. In early post-contact times a man who struck a moose trail would smoke one of these pellets in his pipe, at the same time singing and wishing to encounter that animal. Another form of hunting ritual involved an older brother tearing open the left sleeve of his coat when a younger sibling killed his first large game animal. The ritual insured a lasting abundance of game. Instead of remaining hidden the animals would fall out of the sleeve, metaphorically speaking. Scapulimancy performed by a shaman sometimes preceded hunting for moose, caribou, and bear. The following account probably indicates that the informant had forgotten the details of this technique. The shaman is said to have begun by singing, at the same time placing the scapula of a moose or caribou near the fire. Heat, the informant explained, caused a moose or other animal to appear on the surface of the bone. This indicated that the hunter would have good luck whereas if an image failed to materialize then he would kill nothing. At the end of the performance the shaman blew on the bone, flipped his fingers, and caused the design to vanish. As elsewhere in the northern forest it is likely that cracks in the scapula were interpreted.[30]

[28] See also pp. 94, 96, 117, 118, 124–126, and 140.

[29] Continence as a preparatory observance for luck is widespread among Pacific Coast tribes, including the Tlingit and Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 223.

[30] "... people used to talk to a piece of bone that comes out of a seal's shoulder blade, saying, 'Will

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755 787 Certain therapeutic rites required silence in order to be effective. These a shaman performed at a considerable distance from the sick camp, never within range of the sound of barking dogs. Probably under such circumstances a healer caused a sorcerer's evil to recoil on the latter. Detection of a sorcerer was easy if it happened that somebody remained conspicuously absent from a curing ceremony. Against the absent one the shaman directed the finger of guilt.

783 Confession helped to diagnose illness resulting from broken avoidances and apparently also possessed curative value in itself. The shaman asked, "You ever bother your sister?" "You ever kill an otter?" "How you kill mink?" "You ever steal?" When the patient had admitted an offense the confessor warned him not to repeat the deed upon recovery.

177 789 801 832 Following contact with Europeans a hunter came to perform a ritual to alleviate intense cold. He fired a dry root ("wolverine medicine") from a shotgun. Informants did not recognize the reference to "lucky number." The preceding material, however, suggests strongly that the number "four" possessed special significance. Apart from love songs, which may have been used with the idea of magically attracting a member of the opposite sex, love magic occupied little attention.[84]

754 As already indicated people sometimes used their magical power against other people. For example a reputed shaman who felt slighted or ridiculed might use sorcery in vengeance against his real or fancied detractors. People took care not to annoy a shaman. He should be "only pleased," said an informant. A man whose temperament favored sorcery sought to increase his power by dreaming of animals like the mink and otter but not all persons were sorcerers whose power emanated from these species. A sorcerer tried to "steal" his victim's wind, perhaps first securing a piece of the latter's clothing. Burial of such a possession in the ground brought about death. (Note the use of burial in this context.) A person suspecting sorcery might pay to have his wind returned. In this way really malevolent practitioners extorted women. Sorcerers meted out not only death but also illness, physical and mental, and also "troubled" a man by ruining his hunting ability. A good hunter knew that he had been sorcerized when, seeing a moose, he failed to strike the animal with his weapon. Black magic held a danger of mental illness for the evil magician, who in some cases was also executed with the community's consent. Sorcerers, however, could evade execution by slipping through their enemies' hands. An informant related a story about two Tlingit shamans, one of whom was evil. They both flew through the air. The good man disappeared after a time but his

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The wind had gone so far away that the patient was close to death. During the interval of unconsciousness nobody might leave the dwelling. After perhaps four hours the men simultaneously returned to awareness and renewed their singing. Part of the paraphernalia used in the rite consisted of a line strung with feathers. This the practitioner lashed around the patient's wrists and used to pull the latter from his bed. In that way he was pulled back to life, the informant explained. The pattern of going into a trance to retrieve an errant soul is close to the Eskimo pattern of shamanism. The line fastened to the patient recalls Eskimo divination customs.

[84] Love magic has been reported for the Tahltan. In one particular variety a white root was obtained from the ground and rolled into pellets. The woman's image was then drawn on a piece of skin and encircled with the pellets. If the charm was to be successful the pellets moved and at the same time the woman found herself attracted to the magician.